On the Development of the Position of Czech Enclitic Pronoun *mi* in Czech Bibles from the 14th to 21st Century

Czech pronominal clitics (such *mi* 'to me', *ti* 'to you', *si* 'REFLdat', *tě* 'you', *sě* 'REFLacc', *ho* 'him', *mu* 'to him') dependent on a finite verb (governor) occur in variant positions in the historical development of Czech. In most cases, they occupy the post-initial (second) position in a clause, see example (1). However, they can be placed also in several non-post-initial positions (Kosek 2017), such as in examples (2), (3), (4):

(1) *Nebe₁*   *mi₂*   stolice   *jest*   BiblLitTřeb, Acts 7,49
   Heaven$_{NOM.N.SG}$ me$_{DAT.SG}$ throne$_{NOM.F.SG}$ is$_{3.SG.PRAES}$
   'Heaven is my throne'

(2) [*Pán*   *Buoh*]₁   *otevřel₂*   *mi₃*   *ucho*   BiblBen, Isa 50,5
   Lord$_{NOM.N.SG}$ God$_{NOM.N.SG}$ open$_{3.SG.M.PAST}$ me$_{DAT.SG}$ ear$_{NOM.N.SG}$
   'The Lord God opened my ear'

(3) ... *nebo₁* [*vedlé*   *obyčeje*   *ženského*]₂   [*nyní*]₃ *mi₄*   *se*
   because according custom$_{GEN.M.SG}$ female$_{GEN.M.SG}$ now   me$_{DAT.SG}$ REFL$_{ACC}$
   přihodilo...   BiblSvat Gn 31,35
   happen$_{3.SG.N.PAST}$
   'because it happened to me now, according to the custom of women'

(4) [*Neb*]₁   [*toto*]₂   *mi₃*   *Hospodin*   *řekl*   BiblBen Isa 21,6
   because this$_{NOM.N.SG}$ me$_{DAT.SG}$ Lord$_{NOM.M.SG}$ tell$_{3.SG.N.PAST}$
    'For this is what the Lord has told me'

These non-post-initial positions can be interpreted as follows: (2) and (3) as a result of contact word ordering of an enclitic and its governor, (4) as a result of a topicalization (Kosek 2017; Uhlířová et al. 2017). The non-post-initial positions of Czech enclitics were less frequent in the history of the Czech language. Still, their occurrence in Czech texts before the beginning of the 20th century was significantly higher (roughly 20%, according to Kosek et al. 2018a,b, 2020) than in contemporary Czech.

The aim of the paper is to analyze the development of word order positions of the singular form *mi* 'to me' (dative of personal pronoun *já* 'I') from a diachronic perspective, i.e., in individual developmental stages of Czech (see Migdalski 2016 and Kosek at al. 2018 for the enclitic status of Slavic and Czech *mi*). The research is carried out in nine selected Czech translations of six Bible books – three books from the Old Testament (Genesis, Job, Isaiah), and three from the New Testament (Matthew, Acts, Revelation). The translations cover the period from the 15th to the 21st century.

The paper is focused on the following issues: 1) the development of the competition between the post-initial and non-post-initial positions of enclitic *mi* in the history of Czech, 2) the impact of the length of the first clausal phrase on the competition (Ćavar & Wilder 1999; Čech et al. 2021), 3) the relation between post-initial and contact word-ordering – is it a competition or a cooperation (Čech et al. 2019a)?

Sources

BiblOl/BiblTřebLit: *Bible olomoucká/ litoměřicko třeboňská* [Bible of Olomouc / Litoměřice and Třeboň]. 1417.

BiblMlyn: *Bible mlynářčina* [Miller's Bible]. (cca 1450–1475).

BiblBen: *Bible benátská* [Venetian Bible]. 1506. Venezia.

BiblMel: *Bible Melantrichova* [Melantrich's Bible]. 1570. 4th edition. Praha

BiblKral: *Bible kralická* [Bible of Kralice]. 1594. Kralice.

BiblSvat: *Bible svatováclavská* [Bible of St. Wenceslas]. 1677–1717. Praha.

NZSýk: Sýkora, Jan Ladislav. *Nový zákon* [New Testament]. 1909. Praha.

SZHejčl: Hejčl, Jan. *Bible česká, knihy Starého zákona* [Czech Bible. The books od Old Testament]. 1917–1925. Praha.

ČSP: *Český studijní překlad* [Czech Study Translation]. 2009. Praha. Available at http://www.obohu.cz/bible/

Works Cited

Ćavar, Damir & Wilder, Chris. 1999. "Clitic Third" in Croatian. In van Riemsdijk, Henk (ed.). *Clitics in the Languages of Europe*. Berlin & New York, 429–467.

Čech, Radek, et al. 2019a. Wackernagel's Position and Contact Position of Pronominal Enclitics in Older Czech. Competition or Cooperation? *Jazykovedný časopis* 70 (2), 267–275.

Čech, Radek, et al. 2021. On the impact of the initial phrase length on the position of enclitics in Old Czech. In Pawłowski, Adam, et al. (eds.): *Language and Text. Data, models, information and applications*. Amsterdam – Philadelphia, 9–20.

Franks, Steven & King, Tracy H. 2000. *A Handbook of Slavic Clitics*. New York.

Kosek, Pavel. 2017. *Vývoj českých klitik*. In Karlík, Petr, et. al (eds.). *Nový encyklopedický slovník češtiny*. Praha, 1462–1464.

Kosek, Pavel, at el. 2018a. Starobylá dativní enklitika *mi, si, ti* ve staročeské bibli 1. redakce. In Malčík, Petr (ed.). *Vesper Slavicus. Sborník k nedožitým devadesátinám prof. Radoslava Večerky*, 137–151. Praha.

Kosek, Pavel, et al. 2018b. On the Development of Old Czech (En)clitics. *Glottometrics* 40(1), 51–62.

Kosek, Pavel, at al. 2020. Slovosled pronominálních enklitik *mi, si, ti, ho, mu* závislých na verbu finitu v prvním vydání *Bible kralické*. *Listy filologické* 143 (1–2), 99–147.

Kyas, Vladimír. 1997. *Česká Bible v dějinách národního písemnictví*. Praha.

Migdalski, Krzysztof. 2016. *Second position effects in the syntax of Germanic and Slavic languages*. Wrocław.

Navrátilová, Olga, et al. 2020. Slovosled pronominálních forem *mi, ho, mu* v *Bibli kralické* a otázka míry vlivu původních předloh. *Bohemistyka* XIX (4), 453–478.

Pancheva, Roumyana. 2005. The rise and fall of second-position clitics. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 23 (1), 103–167.

Uhlířová, Ludmila, et al. 2017. Klitikon. In Karlík, et al.: *Nový encyklopedický slovník češtiny*. Praha, 808–818.